/26 cont'd/

231 The greatest number of domestic animals owned by a single Miao family never exceeds a few heads if it owns any at all. This is due to several reasons: (1) The Miao are a propertyless people. 231 511 They are generally very poor and do not have enough capital to buy cattle. (2) Since their life is uncertain, without their staying settled for a long period, animal husbandry is not likely to flourish. It is not easy for them to herd a large number of animals while they themselves move from place to place. (3) Cattle are always helpful for ploughing fields, but not every Miao family owns level fields which can be tilled by animal power; consequently raising cattle is not popular among them.

233 In raising cattle, the Miao have adopted a method of letting them graze on the uncultivated land. They simply let the cattle roam in the mountains, neither fastened with rope nor guarded by herders. Except that each animal bears the brand of its owner, the cattle move completely at will. These cattle are very wild and are hard to control. Once during a wedding ceremony, I saw the host send some men with guns out into the mountains to shoot his own cattle for meat to feast his guests. Their horses are also set free without bits or bridles. /27/ Not until they are needed for riding does the owner begin to search for them in the uncultivated ● 556 areas. The rearing of horses, however, is limited to only a few relatively wealthy families; the ordinary family does not raise horses. The dog is the most popular animal and can be found in almost every family, because it is indispensable in hunting. In addition, pigs and chickens are also raised. Owing to the scarcity of wet rice fields, however, geese and ducks are very rare.

5. Fishing

226 Though the Miao usually live high in the mountains, it is not unusual for them to go down to the streams to fish. Their fishing gear is exactly the same as that of the Li. They have fishing nets, 227 tun, sår co, lung, tun kū, and fishing lines. (For a description of the fishing gear and its use, consult my work, Report on an Investigation of the Li of Hainan Island. There is no need to discuss them

/40 cont'd/

421 mountain have the right to cultivate freely on any one piece of land
423 on the mountain without interference from any one else. On the
621 other hand, people of neighboring mountains are not allowed to cross the border line. Their method of distributing the land is as follows: If a family wants a piece of land to cultivate, it may select an area, the boundaries of which are marked off on the branches of trees. /41/ The land so marked then temporarily belongs to it. Thereafter if someone sees these marks, he knows that the land is already occupied and he must look for land elsewhere. But after this family has harvested its crops, the land reverts to public ownership.

421 Whereas the aforesaid system of community ownership of land
423 is actually the case among the Miao, the system of private ownership of land also exists. Since the family is the basic unit of Miao social organization, the property accumulated by different families varies. In addition to the communal lands, the wealthy families
554 also have private lands leased or purchased from the Li or from
421 Chinese merchants. Some of them have even bought a number of irrigable rice paddies. They are, of course, better off than the average Miao. For example, the family of Lu Tsun-ying, the chia-ch'ang of Ang-chi village in Ta-ch'i, owned both mountain land and level fields. They also hired several workers to cut lumber in the mountains from which he gained considerable income. However, in actuality there are only a very few such wealthy people among the Miao.

421 With the exception of communal land, all other property is privately owned by different families, and is never confused with communal property.

421 In short, while the system of private ownership of property
556 exists in Miao society, there are only very limited opportunities for accumulating property, and individuals are not able to create a greater measure of wealth. Moreover, the greater part of production
554 comes from the land which is still under communal ownership, and consequently the distinction between the rich and the poor is not very marked among the Miao. It follows that even the initial stage

/119 cont'd/

648 to take them out of there; that was all they wanted. This was their sincere plea!

181 185 The Miao are very anxious for land ownership. A Miao leader complained to me vigorously: "Since we are the same people being governed by the same government, why don't we have a chance to own land?" Another one comforted himself by saying: "We don't have land only because the feng-shui in our locality is very poor; so we would have to invite a famous feng-shui expert to adjust it. Then we would be better off naturally." From these conversations we could imagine how anxiously the Miao are dreaming of land ownership. Yet they are not merely "desiring" land or waiting for what fate may decide. They know that land can be bought only 181 with money. If they want land they have to work hard so that they ●556 may save some money for the purchase of land. It is indeed true 648 that a great deal of land has been gradually transferred from Li land- 423 lords to the Miao. I personally saw many such land transfer /120/ contracts in Miao homes. This shows how hard the Miao are struggling for a living. Furthermore, such hard circumstances also make the Miao more solidly unified. This fact has surprised many outside observers who have visited the Miao area. Moreover, due to their firm awareness of the struggle for a livelihood, they also possess an anxious desire for learning. They like to read and show their interest 181 in accepting Chinese civilization. When we had just arrived in the 171 Miao area, several young men began to beg us to take them out of there and send them to school. This situation was completely different from that of the Li, who consider that school is prison. One of the Miao leaders complained to us very angrily that two years before the "Li-appeasing official" Ch'en Han-kuang had selected two to three hundred young Li men and sent them to the Yen-t'ang Military Academy at Canton, but that no Miao youths had been selected.

181 871 648 Undergoing great hardship, the Miao have established schools in their villages and have paid large salaries to employ Chinese teachers. This usually meets with the opposition of the few Li leaders, who are jealous about it. I heard that the year before a Miao

/19 cont./

M *101 CC 563 M [162] when trouble starts, their chiefs rebel. Wu Pan-sheng, Wu Pa-yüeh, Shih Liu-teng, and Shih San-pao were all He Miao, according to their own statements." Although the Miao in the three sub-prefectures are broadly divided into the Hung Miao and the He Miao, when one looks into their origins, besides these two subgroups, the Hung and the He, there appear to be Ch'ing Miao, Hua Miao, and Pe Miao mixed in with them. As they were small in number, they were less known. Moreover, the Hung Miao and the He Miao have a variety of other names. Yung-sui T'ing Chih /Annals of Yung-sui Sub-prefecture, 1908/ gives 22 different ones as follows:

M [167] (1) Hung /Red/ Miao. They originally came from Tung-jen, Kweichow. They are very numerous. Eastward their area extends to Ch'en-chou, westward to P'ing-t'ou, P'ing-ch'a, and Yu-yang native subdistricts /t'u szu/ in Szechwan, north to Pao-ching, south to Ma-yang, and southeast to Wu-chai subdistrict. This area measures 1,200 li in circumference, M [131] 300 li in length, and 120 li in width, within which confines [167] resides this tribe.

[301] [556] [527] (2) Ch'ing /Green/ Miao. — This tribe originally came from Ch'ing-chen, Kweiyang. Men and women generally wear silver neckbands, and a rich woman wears as many as six or seven of them. In the first month of the year, they hold New Year parties at which men and women gather together, blowing reed flutes and singing and dancing for three days. The chicken yards are especially frequented ....

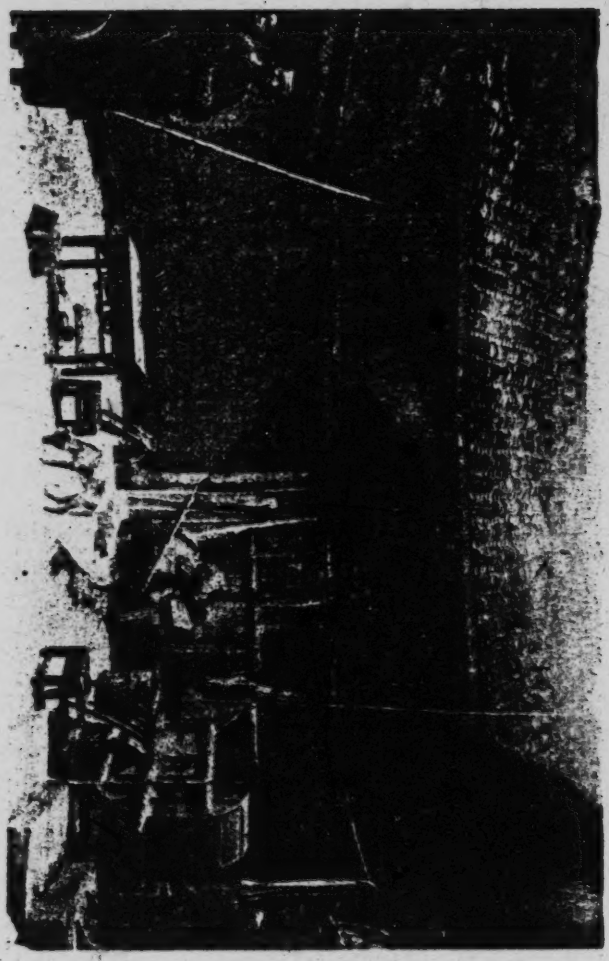
M [167] [462] [782] [769] (3) He /Black/ Miao. — This tribe originally came from Tu-Yün and Pa-chai in Kweichow. They live in such places as Chen-ch'i-so. The women till the land by day and spin and weave by night. Every thirteen years they sacrifice a cow to heaven, earth, and their ancestors, which is called "Ch'ih ku tsang /eating bull's entrails/." Moreover, they put M [262] [263] the bones of pork, chicken, mutton and dog together with whole fowls including feathers and entrails in earthen jars until they decay. This is known as "sour food." They use little salt, which is substituted for by bracken ashes.

M 353 /41 cont./ Among the Miao there are five surnames: Wu, Lung, Liao, Shih, and Ma. The arrangement described [184] above is a Lung house of someone with the surname. The [551] families with other surnames place the fireplace, the kitchen [354] stove, and the ancestral shrine on the right-hand room, just [778] the opposite of the Lung surname families. In the two-room type of house the fire pit is in back of the middle pillar, and M 342 the stove is located in the room on the left (Illus. 16). The [353] partition into two or three rooms is done by means of the pillars and not by walls or screens. In the houses of wealthy families [556] side rooms are built on both sides of the main house (Illus. 17). [25] If the side rooms should have two stories, then the top story is [231] for the storage of grain and the ground floor for rearing domestic animals. The toilet space in a Miao house is often in the pig 514 pen or in the cow stall, and used both by men and women. Travelers in the Miao area find the using of the toilet a pain- M 251 ful ordeal, because the stench is unbearable. Besides the storage loft the Miao house often has underground storage, dug underground about a chang deep and divided into two or three bins for storing foreign potatoes or sweet potatoes. After the sweet potatoes, etc. are stored underground, they are covered with a bamboo-plaited cover, to allow free circulation of air. If the potatoes spoil, it is necessary to wait for some time after M the bamboo covering has been removed before going down. [213] Or, one goes down with a light; if the light goes out, it indi- M 241 cates the presence of carbon dioxide, and one must refrain from entering. There is no difference between the agricultural 171 implements used by the Miao and by the Chinese, but the 352 furniture in a Miao house is much smaller in size than those used by the Chinese (Illus. 17).

M 487 Roads. — The communication system in the Miao area consists of land routes and waterways. The most important C 487 waterway is the T'ung Ho, because it is navigable for a comparatively long distance, and it goes deep into Miao country. This river starts at Lu Ch'i and goes toward the mouth, extending 17 li to Su-mu Ch'i, ten more li to Hsien-ch'i-t'ang, another 21 li to Nung-t'an, 15 more li to T'an Ch'i, ten more

2:Ling & Ruey--69 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

/43/



342
352
353
231
556

Illus. 17. Miao in a house with a main house and additional side rooms.

/76 cont./

252 [222] The bracken, chüeh ts'ai, is a wild plant. It is gathered and carried home. It is washed, and after being half cooked, it is strained and dried in the sun. Cooled overnight it is put in a jar, covered with tung leaves, and the jar stopped up with straw and turned upside down in a basin of water just as in making sour cooked fish.

263 The Miao's liking for sour flavor does not seem to be a natural tendency to like sour pungent things. It is probably due to their being in the interior, very far from the sea, where there are no salt wells near by and salt is difficult to obtain. Hence, the Miao were not acquainted with salty flavor. Today in the Miao language there is no distinction made between saltiness and bitterness. During the time when the Miao had no salt at all, for the most part they only had sour pungent foods to whet their appetite. It was so from generation to generation, and today, even though they have salt, they still retain the liking for eating sour pungent things.

264 [415] Formerly, the Miao did not use chopsticks. The cooked rice was turned onto a basin, around which the family members gathered, digging into the rice with both hands. Vegetables were placed in bamboo buckets and earthenware. When they 252 had meat they singed off the hair over the fire and ate it half 262 cooked. They also ate snakes and insects. Snakes were roasted; earthworms were pickled with salt; grasshoppers, bees, and grubs were either roasted or fried. They also mixed rice gruel with fish and maggots to eat, and considered this a delicacy, which was called yin. Rich families kept yin for several [554] generations. (1) /77/ Again, suckling pigs weighing more

1. Tien Ju-ch'eng in his Yen Chiao Chi Wen says: "The southern aborigines mixed buckwheat ashes with millet paste and let it ferment into a pungent agent, into which were thrown fish and

/92 cont./
600 was very different from that today. The section on dress in
175 Vol. 11 of the T'ing Chih says: "Among the Miao formerly
291 only the village headman shaved his head, the rest piled their
301 hair into hair knots and wrapped their heads in cloth. They
302 removed facial hair like the women. They wore short garments
[515] and went barefooted, and tied red cloth around their loins over
[531] green-blue cloth gowns. The borders of the top garment and
[556] the cuffs of the trousers sometimes were embroidered with colorful designs. The wealthy restrained their hair with netting, fastened by four or five silver hairpins as long as daggers, flat
[304] at the top and round at the bottom. Their two ears were pierced by silver rings as large as bowls, their necks encircled by silver rings, and their wrists bore silver bracelets. Their legs were wrapped with green cloth. Their feet, like those of animals,
[481] could scale trees as fast as monkeys. In climbing dangerous
[292] places and going through bamboo groves they could go like race horses. In rain, they wore sandals. The women wore silver
[304] hairpins, neck rings, bracelets, and bound their legs, altogether just like the men, but their two ears were pierced with three or four rings. Their clothes were longer than the men's, with low
[531] collars slanting down, decorated with tin strips and red wool
[556] or embroidered with plant designs. The rich wore a large silver comb in the hair, with the hair knot closely circled with silver chains and wrapped in a green embroidered turban. They wore no belt at the waist and no undergarments. They wore em-
[531] broidered skirts that had blue and red lines, and there were also those with tin bells tacked on and flowers embroidered on not less than two or three strips, as distinguished from the men. The unmarried women parted their hair in the middle and plaited a braid which hung behind, decorated with shells, tin bells, and pearls. Winter or summer they wore unlined garments, and even in very cold weather they only wore two or three layers.
[481] In the wind and snow they walked hunching their backs." This description agrees with the pictures drawn in the Huang Ch'ing Tzu Kung T'u of Hung Miao men and women of such places as Yung-sui and Kan-chou (Illus. 55, 56).

/94 cont./ When the agreement
585 is reached an inauspicious /sic/ day is chosen to welcome the
[292] wife. The bride wears a moon-white gown and walks holding a parasol, half open, half shut, called the shame-hiding parasol. Her father and mother, brothers, and relatives escort her to
[583] the husband's house. The dowry consists of everything from cattle and sheep and goats to plows and harrows. They do not enter by the main door but through a hole bored through a wall. Men and women sit together. The bride is not allowed to look left or right, or else the husband would be displeased for fear that shermay be fond of some one else. The couple takes each a bowl of rice, a piece of fish, and a cup of wine dregs. Next they visit the paternal uncles' houses in the same village, at each eating and drinking the same items. On their return home they are husband and wife, but they do not spend the night together." It also says: "The Miao do not object to marriage
[582] between people of the same surname, but relatives do not marry. On the wedding night the bride sleeps with her mother, who leaves only when the groom gives her some silver as a gift /95/, called the "mother's money" or "milk money." It is generally about two or three liang of silver. A wealthy family,
556 seeing a pretty girl, might order their son to drag the girl from
583 behind. This is called "carrying off a woman and marrying
584 her by force." The girl's family attracted by their wealth, do not engage the girl to anyone else, but get a go-between to discuss betrothal presents. When a virgin has an affair with
836 a man, her parents know about it but do not forbid it. On the contrary, they consider this evidence that the man finds her
684 desirable. But, if one's wife or concubine is seduced, then
[837] they raise knives, facing each other, and money is required as compensation. If a husband and wife do not get along,
586 the husband may divorce her and marry again, and the wife may do the same. As to improper sexual conduct, instances
837 were very rare even in former days, and today the Miao have become more aware of ethical and moral obligations." (What is recorded in the Miao Fang Pei Lan is to the same effect.)

/95 cont./

584 [177] Today, the marriage customs of the Miao have been thoroughly influenced by the Chinese and have changed from the old ways. Boys and girls who like each other return home and tell their parents. The boy's family finds a go-between to approach the girl's family to discuss marriage. Once, twice, and sometimes three or four times, such approaches may be made before an agreement is reached. Having had indications of assent from the girl's family, the go-between goes back to report to the boy's family, who get ready two bottles of wine [556] (a wealthy family would send along two chin of meat and two chin of noodles besides the wine). The gifts are carried back by the go-between to the girl's family, who invite him to drink wine and eat noodles. Where this procedure has been gone through then they reckon it to be the preliminary engagement, which in the Miao language is called (ɲaŋ7 tɛ̃Y mp'a7), meaning "to let the girl go," also translated as /Chinese/ fang k'ou "to let go the mouth /door?/."

After the preliminary engagement a period of time is allowed to elapse. Then the ceremony of sticking in incense [782] has to take place, which is called /soŋ7 t'iɤ̃Y), with the meaning of /Chinese/ na ts'ai, i.e. the sending of gifts to the bride's home and fix the betrothal. The date is selected by the boy's family, who then informs the girl's family. [583] The gifts generally consist of 50 or 60 strings of cash, one outfit of clothing, a pair of earrings, a pair of bracelets, a few boxes of rice cakes, two chin of sweetmeats, two packages of firecrackers, one chin of oil, one chin of salt, a jug of wine, and several chin of meat. [556] The quantity of the foregoing gift items depends largely upon the financial condition of the boy's family. Poor families may [583] omit a few items, but money, clothes, rings, bracelets, firecrackers, wine, meat, incense and candles are necessary items. These gifts are carried by the brothers of the future groom, followed by the go-between, the future groom, and his father, to the girl's family. Sometimes, the future groom may not go. When the gifts arrive at the door to the house, firecrackers are set off, and the party is received outside the door by the clan

/95 cont./

584 brothers in the girl's family. After entering the door and a brief
[782] rest, the ceremony of sticking incense before the ancestral tablet of the girl's family begins. The groom kowtows three times. If he is not present, his father kowtows in his place. If the groom is present he must also kowtow to his future father-in-law, mother-in-law, and other elders. If the girl's family
[556] is wealthy, then a pig will be killed to entertain the guests from the groom's family. The guests remain in the girl's family
574 for three days, during which the immediate relative of the
584 girl's family take turns in entertaining them with meals, called "meals from door to door." The closest relatives must enter-
[264] tain the visitors at breakfast, because breakfast is considered the most important meal in the Miao countryside. For instance, say there are six families, A, B, C, D, E, and F, with A and C being the closest relatives. Dinner on the first evening is given by the host family. /96/ breakfast on the second day is given by family A, lunch by family E, and dinner by family B. On the third day breakfast is given by family C, lunch by family F, and dinner by family D. When the guests are seen off on the fourth day, breakfast is given by the host family. As a rule three meals are served in a day, but when there are a large
[264] number of /clan/ brothers there are five or six meals in one day.
583 After breakfast on the fourth day the guests depart. Return
584 presents from the girl's family consist of a suit of clothes, a pair of shoes, and a hat for the future son-in-law, a piece of material for a pair of trousers for each guest, a pair of shoes each for the parents of the groom, and a pig's leg for the go-between.

585 A few months or half a year before the marriage the go-
787 between visits the girl's family to ask for the date and time
777 of her birth. He must bring with him two or four strings of cash
584 and some sweetmeats. This ceremony is called "asking for the lucky birth date." The girl's birth date and time thus obtained are matched with those of the groom in order to pick an auspicious day for the wedding. The date is communicated to
583 the girl's family through the go-between. They then begin to

/96 cont./

583 get busy with the bride's marriage portion. Most commonly it consists of one or two trunks, four or five garments making one outfit, two pairs of trousers, and a suit of clothes for the groom.
[301] Such women's ornaments as earrings, rings, bracelets, and neck rings have been sent previously by the groom's family to the bride's, or silver is sent instead for the bride's family to have the ornaments made of it. On the day set the groom's
585 family send along wine, meat, firecrackers, incense and candles, and torches, and recently they include sedan chairs or chairs. When they arrive before the entrance of the bride's
[177] family, recently, in imitation of the Chinese custom, they close the entrance and demand money for opening the gate in the sum of eight hundred cash or one string /one thousand/ of cash. Further, they intentionally curse the go-between and complain that the gifts of wine and meat sent by the boy's
[756] family are not enough. The bride then gets dressed up, and
[782] meanwhile a Miao sorcerer is invited to make sacrifices to the ancestors. A square table is laid with sacrificial items, incense
[787] and candles, and the sorcerer priest recites incantations, kowtows, and performs divination with straws, to cut off the powers of evil. He lights two torches, opens a parasol, and invites the bride to come out to kowtow three times to the ancestral tablet. After this she kowtows once to her parents, once to all her brothers and paternal male cousins, and once to her maternal grandparents. This done, she turns around facing outside and
[554] mounts the sedan chair (in a rich family) or walks (middle-class family), holding a half-opened parasol. The brothers, sisters, cousins, mother's married sisters, mother's brothers wives, and mother of the bride accompany her on the way. If the bride arrives too early at her husband's house, she has to wait in a side building or take a rest in a neighbor's house. At
585 that time a table is laid in front of the entrance with incense
782 and candles, a piece of cooked meat, and three cups of wine.
[75] A guest sorcerer offers the following prayer:
[539]

"The day is auspicious, the moment is opportune,
Heaven and earth open out.

/98 cont./

for three days, the same as at the time of "sticking in incense." They are also entertained in rotation by the closest relatives of the host. After breakfast on the third day a large table is set up in the main room. Eloquent elder men and women of the two families are invited to sit down around the table to count and announce the number of presents from the bride's family. First, the suit, shoes, and hat from the bride's parents to the son-in-law are announced, next the material for trousers from the guests to the groom, and then the presents from the bride's family to the elders of the groom's family. Then they record the cash and articles presented by the groom's family in return to the bride's family. For instance, if the dowry from the girl's family was 80 strings of cash, the groom's family returns 50. In a family of wealth, this money is usually left with the bride and not taken back. The guests who presented trousers receive one or two strings of cash in return. The bridesmaids also receive one or two strings of cash. The bride's family receives a pig's leg, and the go-between gets a pig's head. While the presents are being announced, the men and women sitting around the table talk and sing, in response to each other. (See Chapter 11, "Folk Songs," songs no. 19, 20, 21, and 22, "Seeing the Guests off on the Third Morning.) During these three days the bride and groom do not share the same room. When the bride's family is escorted back, the bride goes along and stays for one or three days before she comes back to her new home to share the room with the groom.

Divorces are very easy with the Miao. The lack of good looks, a difference in wealth between the families, incompatibility, lack of good behavior — any of these constitutes grounds for divorce. Either side may initiate a divorce action. The children of a divorced couple are generally kept by the man, but an unweaned baby is kept by the woman to be restored to the man when it grows up. If the man's family is destitute, the children are kept by the woman's family. After the divorce either side may remarry at will.

845 /99 cont./
asked to utter and write spells to hasten the womb. After the
844 infant is born the cord is cut with a pair of scissors and the placenta is buried in the ground in the house or outside.

After childbirth a Miao woman drinks several bowls of cold water for the purpose of purifying her blood. Within three days
846 she goes out to the fields to work. There are cases in which a woman gives birth in the forenoon and goes out to work in the afternoon. It is said that the Miao woman is able to do this by
[278] eating a secret herb. For postnatal nourishment the poor eat
[556] eggs and the rich eat chicken.

553 Recently, the Miao have adopted the Chinese custom of
[177] inviting friends and relatives to a feast and naming ceremony on the third day after a child's birth. A name is sometimes
551 adopted according to the time of birth. For instance, if a child is born in a certain month, it would be named after the month. The chief of the Miao at the time of the rebellion during the
[805] reign of Emperor Ch'ien Lung was called Wu pa-yüeh /Wu, Eighth Month/. Sometimes the name of the season when the birth occurred is adopted. In another case, the weight of the infant may be used as the name, for instance, an infant weighing so many chin at birth will be named for that weight. In still other cases, the name of an animal, a pig, goat, sheep, dog, or cow is used in the belief that the child will be easy to raise.

853 There is no definite time for feeding the baby. Generally when the baby cries it is fed. If the mother has no milk, the
856 baby is then fed with sugar and rice. At the time of teething,
[787] if the first tooth emerges in the upper jaw, it is a sign of ill
[763] omen, portending the death of one of the parents or paternal
[826] grandparents, because the Miao believe that such a tooth is a grave-digging hoe.

847 /100/ A pregnant unmarried girl often produces an abortion
848 by swallowing mercury. Illegitimate infants are often drowned. Properly married couples rarely practice abortion or infanticide.

/100 cont./

disaster.'" Volume 6 of Sung-t'ao Chih-li T'ing Chih /Gazeteer of the Locally Administerial Sub-prefecture of Sung-t'ao (1834)/ states: "When a Miao dies, the half corpse /?/ is laid to rest on the fire bed, near his feet are erected two poles which reach to the roof tiles. This is called 'ascending to heaven.' The body is then placed in a coffin. The mourning lasts for a month. The relatives by marriage offer condolences, the rich sending cattle and wine, the poor, wine and rice. The clothes left by the dead are stuffed into an effigy. Those gathered beat cymbals and drums, sing and dance in response to each other. This is called tiao ku /'tunes and drums'/. To divine the burial site they call on a Miao sorcerer. By throwing a chicken he divines whether a locality is auspicious or not. This is called 'chicken divination.' Some use a piece of wood cut into two halves, which is called 'wood divination.' After the burial, they bank up the earth into a long mound."

According to the funeral customs of the Miao today, when a man dies, three chin and six liang of paper money are burned for him, which is called "money for scattering his breath." The ashes of the burned paper money are wrapped in a piece of white paper in a package and placed beside the dead body. A bowl of cooked rice with an egg on top, together with several yellow wheat stalks, is placed at the foot of the dead as a sacrifice. Some calamus are picked in the woods and boiled in a panful of water. A person with a different surname is asked to wash the body of the dead with the water and to change his clothes. The size of the trouser girdles used depends upon the age of the deceased. For instance, if the dead man is 80, then his belt is made of 80 threads; if the dead man is 60, then 60 threads are used, and so on. /101/ After the burial clothes have been put on the body, two planks are put on two benches in the main room in the form of a bed, which is called liu ch'uang /"willow bed"/. The body is then placed on it, and a sacrificial table is set before it. A Miao sorcerer is asked to the house to perform the ritual. The sorcerer wields a sword of straw, from the handle of which a strip of white cloth dangles.

/129 cont./

*782 Although the routine sacrifice is not held for any particular reason, its object is nevertheless the avoidance of calamities and the seeking of blessings. The "Sacrifice to the Ancestors" and "Eating Pigs" of the Miao religion and the "Local Divinity [177] of the Soil" and the "Flying Mountain" ceremonies of the guest religion are all for the purpose of beseeching the kuei not to make trouble and seeking their protection. The special sacrifices for the avoidance of calamities may be divided into [755] four categories: (1) for seeking a cure upon suffering illness; [783] (2) for seeking cleansing after seeing a supernatural phenomenon [777] or after any unlucky matter; (3) for seeking the resolution of a conflict that has arisen; (4) for seeking pardon for sins after [783] death. Those sacrifices for the invocation of blessings may be [556] divided into two categories: (1) to ask for wealth; (2) to ask [842] for children. But there are many ceremonies which on one hand are to avoid calamities, and /130/ at the same time are also ones which seek blessings. "Bludgeoning the Ox" of the Miao religion can be performed both for the cure of sickness [755] and can also be performed to ask for children. "Redeeming a [842] Vow to the No" of the guest religion may be performed for the [177] cure of illness or to ask for wealth or children, or can be performed for all of these .

Among the 16 ceremonies of sacrifice to the kuei of the Miao religion that we were able to investigate, the "Sacrifice" to the "Ancestors" and "Eating Pigs" are routine sacrifices; [755] "Ta Chia Hsien," "Redeeming the Soul," "Sacrifice to the Kuei of Pimples," and "Bludgeoning the Ox" are for seeking cures for sickness; the "Ta Kan Lo," "Sending Away the Supernatural Forces of the Old Tree," "washing the cat," and "washing the house" are for seeking cleansing after seeing a strange [783] phenomenon or something unlucky; "Eating Blood" is for seek- [777] ing resolution of a conflict that has arisen; and "Releasing the Soul of the Dead from Suffering" is for asking forgiveness of a dead person's sins. All the above, except for "Bludgeoning the Ox," which asks for a son at the same time, are ceremonies [842] performed for the avoidance of calamities.

/141 cont./

*782 incense and paper are burned. They watch the stance of the animal to divine good and bad luck. If the water buffalo, on [787] entering the house, lifts his feet to advance, with its head facing [777] the incense censer, and glances at the ancestral shrine, then it portends good luck. If the water buffalo is stubborn and refuses to move forward or even tries to back out as if frightened, then it portends bad luck. After the water buffalo has been bought, a Miao sorcerer is asked to come to the house to present the ox to the kuei, and also to beseech the kuei. After this presentation, the family has to wait for the first frost after the autumn harvest to make the sacrifice. When the date is decided it is never changed or postponed.

*782 After the autumn harvest has been completed and the first frost has arrived, an auspicious day is chosen to sacrifice to the 602 kuei. Half a month before, four paternal male cousins are asked [203] to go separately to where the relatives live to notify them. The most important relatives are the families of the host's mother's brother and the wife's maternal uncle, who are said to be the "leg-bearing relatives." They are so-called because after sacrificing to the kuei, one leg of the buffalo is given to the maternal uncle's relatives. A buffalo is divided into four legs. The first belongs to the /host's/ mother's brother, the second to the wife's maternal uncle, and the third and fourth are sent to other close relatives. The "leg-bearing relatives on receiving the notifica- [203] tion presents the messenger with a strip of red cloth as an expression of gratitude. Moreover, within the 12 days before the sacri- *782 fice, one must avoid seeing unclean things, such as a dead cat, [783] a dead dog, or a dead person. If this avoidance is violated, then [784] the person may not be in the company of the buffalo kuei. The "leg-bearing" relatives often go together with the clan brothers /of the host/, making up a number of at least ten or more men up to as many as 60 or 70. Also invited are musicians, trumpeteers /?/, and drummers, to go in formation. Wealthy families imitate [554] the old customs of the former Manchu dynasty, displaying official [177] insignia, playing fine music, and beating gongs and carrying parasols. The maternal uncle's family entitled to the first leg

/156 cont./

(14) Welcoming the Dragon

*782 [556] To seek the prosperity of family finances and status, the Miao make a vow to "welcome the dragon," called [ɕiɴ zoŋ] in their language. The time is any time between the ninth and the eleventh months. After the date has been selected, they start the dragon celebration about a month or half a month prior to that date. This is done by the villagers going to the host's house at night beating drums and gongs, blowing trumpets and whistling and shouting, and making a lot of noise until late at night. A [203] [602] few days before "Welcoming the Dragon," messengers must be sent to the family of the wife of the mother's brother/chiu-mu; is this an inversion of mu-chiu, "mother's brother"?/ to convey the tidings. The host personally goes to engage the services of two Miao sorcerers. The relatives /of the same clan/ in the village are also asked to come to help. For this affair they prepare three kinds of mi-pa, the thunder pa, the dragon pa, and the guest pa, and in addition, a rice dragon must be made. The thunder pa is divided into /Illus. 67 appears between pp. 156-57/ /157/ seven piles, each pile being made up of three pa, large, medium size, and small, one on top of the other. They are placed on a table outside the door. Five piles of dragon pa are placed on a table inside the main house. On the dragon pa is placed a rice dragon, on whose body are stuck three peaches made of mi-pa. On the right day Welcoming the Dragon starts after midnight. Early next morning, the host gets ready a tea tray, on which are placed two bowls of wine and two envelopes. He leads the villagers, beating drums and gongs, to the main road to welcome the maternal uncle /mu-chiu/. The host bows three times to the maternal uncle, who takes two bowls of wine from the tea tray and drinks it up, and then with the welcomers goes to the host's house. After the noon meal, the daughters-in-law of the host and the maternal uncle go together to "welcome the dragon." The mistress of the house wears a silver headdress [292] [493] [843] (Illus. 67) and an embroidered garment and skirt, and rides in a sedan chair. The maternal uncle wears a piece of black gauze on

/168 cont./

*782 time he picks up the rice from the bowl and scatters it around, which is called the "horse fodder." After scattering the "fodder" three times, he picks up a horse whip and hits the ground in front of and behind him. Meanwhile he continues the incantation, followed by paper burning. The fifth part of tasting the cooked food is the same as that for the first-grade sacrifice.

After all the parts have been performed, the sorcerer-priest still stands before the altar. Picking up the cock held in [231] readiness he bites off its neck with his teeth. The dead cock is thrown beside the altar. Then he discards his red garment and eats mi-pa. When he goes he takes the cock with him. While the cock is being bitten, if any blood splashes on some by-standers' clothes, then this man may not eat the mi-pa.

[178] As to the ninth- and the twelfth-grade sacrifices to the Kung An Shen, the writers have not been able to investigate them as they are rarely performed in the Miao area these days. Therefore they are omitted here.

(6) Sacrifice to the Fourth Official Shen

[776] [554] The Miao offer sacrifice to this shen chiefly for the purpose of seeking wealth. There is no particular time for this ritual, but the place is inside the main house, to the right of the main entrance. A square table is set up, on which are placed four bowls of wine and one bowl of meat with a little salt and a pair of chopsticks. There is also a certain amount of paper money, in which are stuck three sticks of incense. The sorcerer-priest, wearing ordinary clothes, holds the chiao-tzu in his right hand and stands in front of the table. After uttering the incantation to invoke the spirit, he throws down the chiao-tzu [787] on the table to divine and pours the wine to give the reason for the performance. After further divining with the chiao-tzu /169/ he sends off the shen. First he burns the paper money in a pan, and then throws the ashes into the censer /huo-lu/.

/169 cont./

(7) The Great Yen-lao Shen

*782 [776] [765] [556] This shen is sacrificed to after the death of a person in a family. It is said this shen may be frightened by the sound of wailing and crying, and they ask him to excuse them, and also protect the family wealth. A square table is set up to the right of the main entrance inside the main house, and on it are placed seven stacks of paper money, in which three sticks of incense are stuck in. On the side is a bowl of chaff, already burnt. There are also seven bowls of wine and seven piles of mi-pa. Behind the table is a bamboo frame, on which seven strings of silver paper ingots are hung. The sorcerer holds the chiao-tzu in his right hand and stands before the table, uttering the incantation to invoke the shen. After this he divines with the *[787] chiao-tzu. When it is found that the shen has descended, he pours the wine and gives the reason for the sacrifice. After inviting the spirit to accept the sacrificial objects, the sorcerer-priest takes a little recess. The host then takes out a certain number of pieces of cooked beef and divides them into seven piles on the table. He also puts out a bowl of salted pepper soup and a bowl of cooked rice, in which are stuck seven pairs of chopsticks. The sorcerer-priest then resumes his original position and invites the shen once more to take the offerings. After *[787] divining with the chiao-tzu, he burns paper and utters the incantation to send off the shen.

(8) The Great Yen-t'ang Shen

[765] [776] They sacrifice to this shen for the same reason as that for the Great Yen-lao shen. The ritual is also the same. But the arrangements are marked by the absence of the bamboo frame and the silver paper ingots. The other things such as the paper money, wine, mi-pa, and chopsticks are the same, except that each item numbers five instead of seven and pork is used instead of beef, also in five piles.

/174 cont./

*782 755 tea, five piles of mi-pa, five stacks of paper money. The sorcerer-priest, wearing ordinary clothes and holding a ritual knife and a chiao-tzu, squats in front of the winnowing basket. *[787] He utters an incantation and divines with the chiao-tzu, sips the tea, and states the reason. When the divination indicates that the shen can cure the ailment, then he again takes a cup of tea and utters an incantation into the cup, and rubs the tea on the eyes of the patient. After this the host and his friends and relatives in the village come to the house, and after they are assembled, the sorcerer-priest burns the paper to send off the shen.

The ritual for the Day Tea Shen is the same as that for the Early Tea Shen. That for the Night Tea Shen is also the same, except that it is held inside the house and that when all arrangements are in order and the sorcerer-priest is ready to perform the lights are extinguished.

(18) Offering Thanks to the Earth

*782 556 [776] A Miao family which has held a Welcoming the Dragon ceremony has dug a "dragon chamber" in the center of the main house (see "Welcoming the Dragon"), which is the place where the dragon shen is. Offering Thanks to the Earth is also called "Comforting the Dragon," to make the dragon shen happy in his chamber, thus bringing prosperity to the household. Therefore in Offering Thanks to the Earth the dragon chamber becomes the center of activities. They draw the eight diagrams outside it *782 with powdered lime. In the middle of the diagrams are written the two characters chung-ying /"the center"/. Outside the diagrams is drawn a circle. Outside the circle are drawn five bows with arrow and the four characters chiu kung pa kua /"nine palaces, and eight diagrams"/. Twenty-three bowls are used: eleven bowls of wine; five bowls of uncooked rice, with a stick of incense and a candle inserted in each; five bowls of mi-pa; one bowl of tofu; and one bowl of tao-t'ou with a pair of chopsticks placed on it. There are also ten stacks of paper money, laid on each diagram within the circle and one

[18 cont.]

301 two silver bracelets and two or three finger rings. But when they put on their best embroidered clothes, then they would wear a kind of silver headgear with different kinds of silver pins in the chignon, and at least two or three solid silver necklaces, sometimes as many as a dozen; the number of bracelets and finger rings they wear is also doubled. They would have still more silver jewelry on the dress or attached to the waist. The [556] quantity of silver worn is an index to the wealth of the family, and so during festivals the women become exhibits in every family.

3. Marriage

584 Marriage among the Miao is mostly the result of love, but the mediation of the match-maker and the engagement ceremony are necessary before fixing the date of marriage. Young men and women [19] at the "liu sheng [reed-wind instrument] dance" in the first lunar month may openly fall in love with each other without the intervention of parents or brothers of the family. In ordinary times, especially during the holidays, they may also court each other at will. So on the mountain slope or in the field we often observe scenes of "yao-ma-lang" (i.e., love-making), when they sing songs to each other in questions [533] and answers. One party would ask a question in a song, and if the other party is willing she sings back the answer. These songs are extemporized, full of freedom and naturalness. Such serenades last till sunset when they begin to return home. After a suitable period of time, if their feelings persist then the parents would find a go-between to arrange the engagement.

836 This system of love and marriage seem very free, yet there is no promiscuity. Their conduct is regulated by unwritten laws and they all have a high sense of decency. For instance, yao-ma-lang is carried on out of sight of old people, and yet it has to be within sight of passers-by. Furthermore, men and women must remain at least five feet apart, and necking and embracing are taboo. (The Long-skirt Miao not far away from them permit

[166 cont.]

591 The young couple either remains in the paternal home or found a new household, in accordance with their choice.

Other forms of marriage are also practiced by the "Méo." 583 When an official request in marriage has been refused, it is not rare to see the young people pay no attention to the consent of their parents and elope together. When they return they secure their pardon by paying an indemnity to the parents of the young woman.

A poor "Méo" may wed a rich girl. In this case it is the girl's [556] family that bears all of the expenses of the ceremony, but the married couple enter into a contract to serve this family for a number of years agreed upon.

584 In the region of Pha-Long, the "Méo" observe a rather curious 583 custom and hold a sort of "marriage fair," to which come, in great numbers, young men and young women from several leagues roundabout. This gathering is held on a grassy plateau where boys and girls form in groups about twenty paces apart, turning their backs to each other. These groups sing alternating choruses, very simple ones, in which the young men boast of their skill, their strength, and their wealth and the young women glorify their housekeeping virtues and enumerate the treasures of their trousseaux. Often some sprightly word causes mirth throughout the gathering. The laughter, the songs, and the dances of the men playing the "sen" last throughout the entire afternoon. The sellers of alcohol and cakes do a very good business, while the youths and maidens become better acquainted and establish a basis for future unions.

584 It is during the days which follow this festival that the great majority of the official marriage requests are made. (Photo 154, Plate 40, shows the plateau where this marriage fair was held, near Pha-Long, on February 21, 1912. Photo 155, Plate 40 shows the dance of a "sen" player during the festival. Photos 156 and 157, Plate 40 show groups of young women [167] belonging to various "Meo" tribes of the region of Pha-Long who have come to the fair in question.)

595 Polygamy is authorized, although it is rare for the "Méo" to take a second wife, except when the first one remains sterile.

39: Bernatzik--75 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5

/48/

Chapter 7

Life in the Community

a) Birth

527 [842] The day on which a child is born is an important day in the life of the Meau and one that the parents look forward to with longing. Even later on, the birthdays within the family are always festive days, an observation that Lajonquière (1)

1. II, p. 317.

also made.

844 Among the Meau, when the time of delivery comes, the woman squats on the ground next to the bed, and the husband supports her so that she does not topple over. Among men of some means, a mat forms the underlayer; otherwise leaves [550] suffice. The husband catches the child, ties the umbilical cord, severs it with a pair of scissors, and washes the child with warm water. The child is not yet swaddled, however. If the husband has not yet experienced a confinement, the parents help him. Midwives are unknown. The placenta and [846] umbilical cord are preserved in a bamboo which, in the case of a boy, is buried next to the middle post of the house, in the case of a girl under the bed of the parents, always about three-quarters of a meter deep. When I inquired as to the reasons for this distinction, I was told: "A girl leaves the house when she marries and from then on belongs to the other family; a boy, however, stays in the house and augments the prosperity of the family." My Meau informants did not know why the afterbirth is dealt with in such a manner. They also believed that it would not matter if an animal were to devour the afterbirth, /49/ for an evil spirit would certainly not do this, since it would not taste good to him. Even today, however, the Meau still do [778] this as their ancestors did and in accordance with tradition,

/49 cont./

846 After the delivery the mother remains on her bed, and the husband cares for her in the same manner as at the end of her pregnancy. The husband tries to relieve her of all work. The length of the confinement depends on economic circumstances. [556] Among poor people it often lasts only a few days, among prosperous women it sometimes extends up to thirty days. In any case, among the Meau, it is prolonged as much as possible, since it is believed that the longer the confinement the healthier and stronger the woman will become and the more children she will therefore be able to bear.

I was unable to find any traces of the couvade among the Meau. On the other hand, Abadie (1) reported that the custom

1. Page 165.

occurs among some Meau tribes in China. He adds that in Tonkin this custom is not practiced, but that one could observe practices that seem to be derived from it. The author then mentions as such practices: "Vegetarian diet for the husband; a prohibition against his being absent or crossing the heights that form the boundary toward the neighboring valleys." Much more convincing is an illustration of the couvade given by Chang-Kong Chiu in his Kultur der Miao-tse (2) and the illustration in

2. Page 59.

the Album Gotha (3). In these cases, however, it is not en-

3. Reproduced in the Ostasiatischen Zeitschrift, 1916, p. 281.

tirely certain whether these illustrations actually refer to the Meau or perhaps to another Chinese mountain tribe.

845 [777] [732] The Meau are especially happy about the birth of twins and regard it as an omen of good luck. They even try to raise weaklings, deformed children, and cripples. The hard struggle for survival, however, almost always prevents their growing up.

/117 cont./

764 former times. No gifts are added to the coffin. The grave is now closed again with stones and earth; sometimes a mound is formed, sometimes it remains flat. It also happens that a simple fence is erected around the grave site or the grave mound. Often the grave is also covered with leaves which are weighted down with sticks and stones. This is supposed to be [825] the most effective way to prevent wild animals from digging up the corpse. If the location of the grave is to be kept secret, the earth which remains after the grave is closed is scattered, and in a few hours nothing remains to suggest a burial site. [766] In no case, not even in connection with the death of prominent Meau, are forked posts or megaliths erected.

764 After the burial a sacrifice is offered. In the case of a 782 poor man, pigs or merely chickens are slaughtered without much ceremony or ado. If he were a rich man, however, the [556] sacrifice consists of an ox or a buffalo. Even during the [533] slaughtering, the playing of the mouth organs, the gongs, and, [775] if such are available, the drums begins and continues uninterruptedly until the meat of the sacrificial animal is completely cut up and the soul of the deceased has been invited to enjoy itself. This is followed by dancing to the mouth organs, which ends the funeral. During the following three days additional sacrifices are offered to the soul of the deceased by [775] putting food on the grave, since it is assumed that during this period it stays in the vicinity of the grave (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," the section "Ideas about Death and the Soul").

[766] The manner of burial is basically the same for men, [554] women, and children, with no differences other than that the sacrifices characterize the social rank of the deceased. Moreover, depending on the rank of the deceased, more or fewer 764 mourners appear. Abadie (1) confirms this and describes the 766 177

1. Page 168.

burial of a very distinguished Meau chief, which, he says, was just as simple as that of a humble man, except for the coffin for which, following the Chinese custom, a non-rotting, petrified wood was used.

/118 cont./

765 and likewise a widower after the death of his wife, are for-
582 bidden to marry or to have sexual intercourse for one year.
834 Widows, however, are subject to these restrictions for one
week. The festival of the dead is celebrated one year after the
769 funeral at the latest. The date is not fixed; a sufficient supply
of food is collected for it first, since all the relatives and
friends of the deceased, even from the neighboring villages,
appear at this celebration. One to three pigs are slaughtered,
[556 depending on the wealth and the social position of the deceased
574 and on the number of guests, the feast is prepared, and alcohol
782] and rice are also served. No sacrifices, however, are offered
on this occasion, and there are no subsequent ceremonies.
764 Lajonquière (4) gives an impressive, somewhat different

4. II, p. 318.

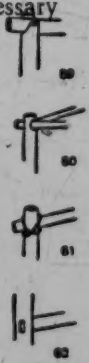
description of a Meau burial: "The burial customs are not always the same among the various tribes, but in our opinion the following are the most invariable ones: When a Meau has died, the sorcerer, provided that there is one in the area, is informed. With or /119/ without his help, the deceased is clothed in his best garments and tied in an erect position to one of the partitions of the house; then the funeral rites begin, in which the friends and neighbors participate. They last three days, during which there is a succession of feasts and dances. They eat in honor of the dead and with many kind words invite him to participate. His children even try to squeeze pieces of meat between the stiff lips.

"One or two buffalo have been slaughtered for the guests;
764 a dog is killed for the deceased, prepared, and, with a paper
775 string in its mouth, which is tied to the wrist of the corpse, is put beside it. (A Meau whom we questioned about the meaning of this custom told us that the dog was assigned the task of leading his master on the paths of the other world.)"

/267 cont./

342 observation of the domestic life, it appears that the living [353] habits cannot be called primitive by any means; the houses are appropriately and serviceably furnished and do not lack a certain coziness.

/268/ The houses are rectangular and always built on the [592] ground. Each house is inhabited by the entire family and is the [556] larger the more numerous the family members are. Just as a [858] man's wealth depends largely on the number of his children, that is, his work force, so also do the size and equipment of 352 his house. If many children have died and no relatives can be 353 taken in as house members, the houseowner naturally does not 556 have the time to do more work than is absolutely necessary for his subsistence. In this case, his house looks dilapidated; it is not kept clean, [778] there are no chairs or tables, the house altar consists of only a simple board, the [335] sleeping areas are only partially enclosed by a plank wall or not at all, the household equipment is sparse, and the laboriously hewn planks for the house walls are often replaced merely by plaited work, fan palms, or split bamboo (Ill. 105).[1] Never- 342 theless, a pervasive uniform style of construction is discernible. Every house has, as a rule, two entrances. One leads directly into the kitchen, the other into the living room.



Figs. 59-62. Ways of fastening posts and beams in the houses of the Meau.

[354] The cooking area with the hearth and the [353] tables and stands for the cooking utensils, the altar for the spirit of the house, the rice pounder, an open fireplace, and [574] a resting place for guests are found along the wall opposite the [353] main entrance. Every house has several storage lofts in the interior. If the storage lofts and granary are inadequate for the [251] field produce to be stored, there is often found on one house wall a small addition which serves as a granary. If needed,

1 [See cat 116, p705 - ANALYST]

/273 cont./

342 Caption for Fig. 70 (below). Dwelling house 7 in the Meau village Nam Fa, framework.

[353] Key to symbols:

A = storage lofts
B = supporting posts
C = ridge post
H = crossbeam of roof
J = roof beam
K = longitudinal roof beam
L = ladder to the storage loft

/274/

[32] The boards of the house wall (Ill. 106),[1] roughly hewn with the ax, are about three to four centimeters thick and between 15 and 35 centimeters wide. They are /Fig. 71 appears here/ not joined to one another tightly, but rather show narrower or wider spaces, through which air and light can enter the windowless room. The boards are thrust into the loamy ground and tied on the inside and outside to a lower and an upper crossbeam, which in turn are fastened to the supporting posts driven firmly into the ground (Fig. 71; further, the chapter, "Household and Kitchen Utensils," Fig. 117). Lajonquière (1), in connection with the

342
333
184

1. II, p. 306.

description of the Meau houses in Tonkin, mentions, besides walls "made of planks nowhere fitting together," which he calls the "ordinary type," also walls made of pounded earth, which occur only in "the most complete type of house." Abadie (2),

2. Page 156.

[556] too, mentions that the houses of the rich have walls of pounded earth or mud, and describes their erection as follows: "The pounded earth is prepared in two ways. The earth, kneaded with water, is dried in the sun in a form in the shape of a parallelepiped and, depending on the thickness of the wall, is put side by side in double or triple layers. In the second case the moistened earth is tamped down between two boards, the space

1 [SEE Cat 116, P 706 - ANALYST]

/274 cont./
342 between them corresponding to the thickness of the wall, with
333 the help of clubs. Then the boards are removed and, depending
184 on the height of the wall, again set up above by fastening them to the transverses set into the wall."

[556] [177] In any case, however, houses built out of mud only represent exceptions among the Meau and may depend not so much on the wealth of the family as on the building material available and the influence of neighboring peoples.

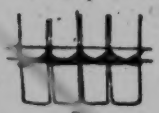


Fig. 71.
342 Fastening of the wall boards among the Meau. About 1/40 nat. size.

The floor in all the rooms is the clay soil stamped hard (Ill. 107).[1]

The storage lofts rest on the roof beam and the crossbeam (Fig. 66) and consist of strong wooden beams over which narrow rough-hewn boards are laid (Ill. 106). Upon them,
353 piled high, rests a mass of household goods, such as old saddle and harness equipment, antlers, hides, fish nets, binding material bound together in large rolls, baskets of every /275/ size, yokes for the draft animals, carrying bags, hemp, tobacco, and the like. A part of the storage lofts also often serves for the
[251] storing of food supplies, such as smoked meat, ears of maize, tubers, grain, and so forth. Various devices to hang things on are put on the beams of the storage lofts (Ill. 100).[2]

[342] Savina (1) reports on this: "Still to be pointed out are

1. II, p. 200.

the two platforms which are found above the two side rooms.
[251] They serve as granaries for the annual harvest: rice, maize, grain, sorghum, beans, potatoes, hemp, tobacco, etc. At night the rats make a hellish noise here."

The storage lofts are reached by means of ladders (see the chapter, "House Furnishings, Household and Kitchen Utensils." Fig. 137 and Fig. 138).

342 The roof truss (Figs. 75 and 76) consists of rafters lashed to-
184 gether, which are tied to the ridge stringer (Fig. 76, A), which

[1] [see cat 116, p706 - ANALYST]
[2] [" " " p665 - "]

39: Bernatzik--385 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5

/278 cont./

2. Granaries

343 Whereas the dwellings of the Meau are always built on the ground, the granaries rest on piles up to two meters high, in order to protect the field produce from the humidity and from the unwelcome intrusion of mice, rats, pigs, and from the other domestic animals. There are open granaries, which usually are several meters long and three to /279/ four meters high and consist of merely a /Fig. 79 appears here/ platform covered by a leaf-roof. Field produce is stored here as long as it still needs drying. During the rainy season, however, granaries which are closed off by four board-walls and built very solidly are used. They have only one small doorlike opening, through which one has to creep in order to store ears of maize, sheaves of grain, millet, or tubers in it (Fig. 79).

3. Stables

231 343 Although special shelters are always built for chickens and pigs, these domestic animals usually stay in the dwelling during the day or in its immediate vicinity. The pigs lie in the living room under a bench or table or at the hearth, as they please, /Figs. 80-82 appear here/ /280/ while the chickens busily search for food in all the nooks and corners. No scrap is scorned. [417] Chicken coops in the form of large boxes (Figs. 80 and 81) are usually lodged at the house wall. They are made of boards joined together and are closed with a suitable piece of wood (Fig. 80, A). There are also, however, chicken houses resting on piles (Fig. 82).

231 343 417 [554] The pigpens are put together with stout wooden sticks and are of various sizes, according to the wealth of the owner /Figs. 83 and 84 appear here/ (Fig. 83). There are large troughs for fodder inside the pens (Fig. 84). At night the cattle are housed in hurdle-like stables. In them, on an underlayer of boards that is raised about 15 centimeters and rests on stones, and under a gabled roof covered with palm leaves, they are well-protected from dampness. The hurdle is enclosed on the sides with a

/319 cont./

291 [286] [294] [386] [292] [439] [294] are about 37 centimeters wide, corresponding to the width of the weaving board. They are colored dark blue in the dye-trough found in every house (see the chapter, "Handicrafts"). The homemade, sturdy, and resistant material is often replaced, especially for the making of holiday attire, by dark-blue cotton cretonne, which is purchased from the Chinese traders, but does not have for long the durability of the home-produced hemp cloth. The sewing equipment, such as thread, needles, embroidery silk, red and other colored cretonne, always comes from the Chinese trader. In addition to the work clothes, which are worn for years, every prosperous Meau has [292] [556] a holiday outfit, which, however, differs from this only in the elaborateness of the embroidery among the women and in [531] the number of silver buttons among the men, as well as sometimes in the material. The clothing of children is exactly like that of the adults.

291 531 The women's clothing of the Meau (Ills. 60 and 61, as well as 69 and 70, and furthermore Colored Plate II)[1] consists of the blouse, skirt, apron, turban, and leggings. The blouse is made of dark-blue material (Colored Plate II, Nos. 4 and 6), has long narrow sleeves, and is open in front. The two parts are pulled over one another in front and are tied at the waist. The low neck, which permits the beginning of the breasts to be seen, is trimmed with strips of material of various colors. Similar strips of material border the back part of the blouse, which hangs down loosely. A slit separates it /320/ from the front part. The most striking feature of the blouse is the typical sailor collar (Ill. 66),[2] which has the shape of a rectangle. In the case of children and older women this collar is usually plain dark blue, like the blouse itself. Young girls and women, on the other hand, wear it with so many small cloth patches sewed on it that nothing is to be seen of the dark-blue background color (Colored Plate III, Nos. 1 and 3, also Colored Plate IV, No. 3).[3] Thus, on collar 1 of Colored Plate III red cretonne strips are sewed on, and these are embroidered with a central line of lilac silk. On the dark-blue stripe of uniform width thus produced, small white triangles are sewed. Collar pattern 1 of Colored Plate III is

1 [See cut 116, PP 448, 449, 512, 240 - ANALYST]
2 [" " " P 492 - "]
3 [" " " PP 439, 563 - "]

/321 cont./

291 184 [101] The skirt of the "White" Meau shows the same form, but is completely white. They also sometimes wear blouses made of white undyed material, which is probably why they are called "White Meau."

291 531 The third piece of clothing of the women, the dark-blue apron, is usually about 20 centimeters longer than the skirt or even reaches down to the ankles. It has the width of a woven strip and in addition is provided with richly embroidered bands. Each apron band consists of a part with colorful patches of cloth sewed on and a broad sash of red cretonne, which is wound twice around the waist and tied in the back (Ill. 58). Every apron-band pattern (Colored Plate III, No. 2, and Colored Plate IV, Nos. 1, 2, 4, 5, and 6) has a different name. For instance, the pattern in Colored Plate IV, No. 2 is called the "firefly," and No. 6 of Colored Plate IV is called the "snail pattern." Here the spirals are embroidered in yellow, blue, and green silk in small chain-stitches on red material. The first and third parts of the apron band in Colored Plate III, No. 2, consist of a blue background-material on which little white patches are sewed. On these in turn red and green triangles are embroidered in silk. The middle part is made in the same way, except that here a red background-material is used. This mixed technique of appliqué work and silk embroidery is also used in other apron-band patterns. The workday aprons usually have only plain blue or red bands.

854 482 The child-carriers customary among the Meau exhibit the same form and execution (Colored Plate II, No. 11). Their use is apparent from Ill. 66.

291 531 [552] [292] The turban of the women (Colored Plate II, No. 1, and Ills. 60 and 61) consists of two to six pieces of cloth, depending on the wealth and vanity of the wearer and whether or not it is a matter of festive attire. In any case, the most important piece of the turban is a dark-blue strip of cloth about three meters long, the ends of which are provided with cross-stitch embroidery (Colored Plate III, No. 5). It is wound around the head in such a way that the embroidered ends project to the left and right (Colored Plate II, No. 1). Over this first piece

/342 cont./

224 animal victim, such as an imitation of the "piping" of a mouse and the like.

Whereas for stalking firearms are used as a rule, in ambush the Meau prefer the noiseless crossbow with the effective poisoned bolts.

How skilled the Meau are as hunters was revealed at my very first meeting with them. Later, besides my medical [123] knowledge, it was precisely my hunting ability that was decisive for the success of my ethnographic work, even though it was considerably inferior to that of some of the Meau. For 224 example, one of my informants, a man of about forty-five, 434 had bagged a great deal of game with his primitive weapons during his lifetime, which also affected him economically. 556 He had killed more than 20 elephants, and for the ivory of [439] each of them he was paid 200 to 400 ticals by the Chinese [435] traders. Since one only needs to add 10 per cent to arrive at the amount in marks, that amounts to 220 to 440 marks /343/ for each tusk. Moreover, he had killed two rhinoceros, each of which brought him 800 ticals. Considerable sums had likewise flowed in to him for buffalo horns and stag antlers, whose number he no longer knew because he had killed so many of these animals. This is immediately understandable [439] if one remembers that the Thailanders and especially the [435] Chinese pay a thousand ticals for the first growth of the horns of a stag in its second year /for the horns of the Kolbenhirsch/, because it is regarded as a precious aphrodisiac. Even though the traders undoubtedly gained many times this amount, nevertheless such proceeds from hunting booty are of great im- [595] portance. My informant had this to thank for being able to buy three wives. Apart from the material side, however, such success in hunting, considering the situation with regard to game in northern Thailand, represents a prodigious hunting accomplishment which a European with precision rifles could scarcely match, whereas my informant had only his primitive weapons at his disposal.

/368 cont./

231 Goats are likewise kept for meat and as sacrificial ani-
[262] mals, but only sporadically.
[782] Just as the farming of the Meau in Indochina is incom-
[184] parably more productive than among the Meau in Thailand, so also does the animal husbandry there represent an essentially broader economic base for them. This is shown by the description that Savina (2) gives concerning this in Indochina: "The

2. II, p. 200.

Meau raise buffalo, cattle, horses, pigs, goats, sheep, chickens, ducks, and geese. The livestock is their sole
[556] wealth; it is more valuable than money. Opium and livestock
[276] are the only things that they sell. As has been said, the cattle
[432] live freely outside in the mountains. Since they often remain away for weeks and months, the owners only rarely know how many animals they have. In the evening the cattle herd together to defend themselves against tigers. When they scent a tiger, the larger animals place themselves around the smaller ones and courageously await the enemy. At least so the Meau tell it. They very much like to praise their animals. There are families who own forty or fifty head of cattle. If all these animals were divided among all the families, each
[281] family would have twelve head. The hides of the slaughtered
[439] animals are dried and sold on the market:

"Horses are the usual companions of the buffalo and cattle in /369/ the pastures, but they are less wild. Every evening, they return to the village, and if they do not come by themselves, one searches for them with two ears of maize. One is given to them at the place where they are found, and with the other they are lured into the village. Buffalo and cattle are brought back with a piece of salt. This is only a matter of vilgum pecus, that is, pack horses; the good saddle
[492] horses are only seldom left free; they are provided for in the stable or in a corner of the house, and their mangers are rarely
[432] empty. The Meau never sell them.

AKha A04
Miao AE5

/383 cont./

M 276 [556] The Meau are passionate opium smokers. The poor man treats himself to his pipe on a holiday eve no differently than the workman among us does his beer. Rich people, on the other hand, smoke every day. Nevertheless, I did not discover any detrimental influence of the drug. The capacity for work did not seem to have suffered; no Meau was "addicted" in the true sense of the word. The harmfulness of opium, however, M [562] [114] is well known to the Meau; this is also shown by the fact that the enjoyment of opium is prohibited for women, youth, and children. Nevertheless, the statements by Lajonquière (1) and

1. II, p. 303.

Abadie (2), that the Meau smoke only a little opium, are to be

2. Page 160.

considered, it seems to me, just as relative as the statement by the first author that the Meau smoke less tobacco than the Tho.

M [763] [757] In addition, in northern Thailand the drug is given in larger amounts to incurable patients, in order to make death easier for the patient under its influence.

A 249 [276] The Akha are perhaps even more passionately attached to tobacco than the Meau. At any rate, the Akha, who otherwise very happily plant everything mixed together, lay out special tobacco fields. The subsequent procedure, however, is more primitive than that of the Meau. The Akha cut off all the leaves of the tobacco plant, mix them together, make tight bundles of these green leaves, and wrap them in several layers of banana leaves. The leaves ferment in the course of time. Then the covering is removed and the tobacco leaves are cut into strips and dried, whereupon they are usually stored in bamboo containers.

/410 cont./

321 Among other materials used for handicrafts bone and ivory must also be mentioned. Knives (see the chapter, "House Furnishings, Household and Kitchen Utensils," Fig. 165) and knife handles, are made out of them, and they are also used in crossbows. The chopsticks of the well-to-do are usually made of ivory. [412] [556]

289 Finally, the making of paper is still to be mentioned. Young green bamboo is chopped up, after the outer covering and the pith are removed, into pieces about 15 centimeters long and five centimeters wide. A quantity of wood ashes equal to a fifth of the amount of bamboo /Fig. 373 appears here/ is added and, with the addition of water, is cooked for about twelve hours, during which the water that evaporates is replaced as needed. At the end of this period the bamboo mixture is soft. Then the substance is pounded in order to crush the wood fibers (Ill. 84).[1] At the same time any large or hard particles of wood remaining are carefully removed, and the mass of fibers is further cooked in the same lye solution after liana bark pulverized between stones /411/ has been added. After the substance has reached the proper consistency, it is spread as evenly as possible (Ill. 85)[1] on cotton cloth, which is stretched between wooden frames (Fig. 373), and dried in the sun. With a special bone knife (see the chapter, "House Furnishings, Household and Kitchen Utensils," Fig. 165) the dried and therefore finished paper is carefully lifted off. As was described, it is punched by means of special punches before its use in sacral performances (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic"). [413]

[531]

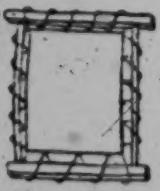


Fig. 373
Wooden Frame for Paper-making among the Meau.
1/60 nat. size.

[1] [See cat. 116, p598- ANALYST]

/464 cont./

152 556 The Meau are not greedy. In spite of their hard life, money and property play a less important role than the lives of human beings. In reply to my question, "If your house were on fire, what would you save first?" I repeatedly received the answer from the Negro peoples, and from the Akha, too, for that matter: "My money" or "My ornaments." The Meau, on the other hand, said without thinking twice: "First the people, and last of all the cash."

439 435 The behavior of the Meau who accompanied me into the valleys was interesting. As a people with little talent for business, and in addition without any opportunity to compare the prices which are offered or demanded of them by the migratory traders who seek out their villages, they now saw in the valley cities the same commodities offered at prices which amounted to only a fraction of those that they were accustomed to paying the traders. Nevertheless, no buying mania seized the Meau. They bought only articles that they had carefully considered beforehand, especially yam, copper kettles, blue cloth for making men's clothing, and, in only one case, under the first impact of the uprooting, a Japanese man's shirt. When they thought that they had covered their needs, the rest of their money was carefully put away, and they immediately decided to acquire wives for their sons with it in their homeland.

574 [123] It was obvious to us that we owed them, whose hospitality we had enjoyed in the mountains, maintenance during these days. For every handful of rice they repeatedly thanked us, though they /465/ must have regarded our hospitality as a matter of course. No wanderer, even a stranger to the tribe, will ask in vain for lodging or food in a Meau village. The Nordic proverb, "Nobody roams through Lappland's mountains without being hungry," could be exactly reversed: "Everybody roams through the forested mountains of the Meau well fed." To be sure, for the European it should be added that for our taste the food of the Lapps, for example, salted coffee with cut-up reindeer cheese or dried raw reindeer meat and the like, is not particularly agreeable or to our taste, whereas the food of the Meau is often not only tasty, but altogether wholesome.